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This New Issue

With this enlarged issue, Social Action begins the eighth year of its publication. Although there has never been a Correspondence Section in our monthly review, we have often received comments and kind words of advice from some of our learned readers about what should be the matter and the scope of the journal. It is worthwhile to record here, so as to dispel popular misconceptions, the purpose of this review, which though rather slender at the moment is intended to be developed into a full fledged authentic commentary on various aspects of the social sciences.

Purpose

Up to the present, our monthly has strictly confined itself to describing and commenting on the social problem as we find it in India. Industrial and agricultural problems, population growth and bureaucratic expansion, planning and taxation, community development and other similar questions of social import, have been considered not so much from the purely economic or statistical point of view, but mainly from the social welfare angle. Great care has been

taken especially to indicate the moral implications in the various methods advocated to set India on her path towards economic and social prosperity. The approach to the social problem has always been an integrated one since we strongly hold that people are composites of matter and spirit, of body and mind. And while the material needs of the individual may be catered for, his spiritual exigencies cannot be overlooked. Otherwise our treatment would be lopsided and fail in the end to achieve the purpose of developing free, well-balanced, responsible and social minded citizens of India.

Human Relations

There is much stress today on human relations. This review will continue to insist upon human values even at the risk of a certain amount of unpopularity with the public and slowness in the development of our economic and social prosperity. Besides this insistence, however, and the usual divisions of the subject matter into leading articles, documentation, book reviews, social trends, social and economic surveys, we intent to include one more section to deal with the vast amount of social information to be found in foreign journals, which, not been written in English, escape the attention of Indian social workers and social scientists and other interested in the social problem and its solution.

Right Perspective

Despite the increase in the size of the review, the subscription will remain the same. We trust finally that as a result of their careful perusal of the review our readers will find therein matter for thought and discussion, inspiration for social action, and a perspective of the social problem within a hierarchy of values that are truly human.

The Editor

This Side and That

Onward

India is entering the new year with a tightened belt and a stout heart; things have gone awry but she has steeled herself to pursue her rapid industrialisation. The second Five Year Plan has struck a bad spot. At first it had been designed as "from below", but when the States submitted a jumble of projects reaching the impossible target of Rs. 15,000 crores, the plan was reconstructed at the Centre on a "comprehensive perspective" basis and slimmed down to a modest Rs. 4,800 crores. But as in perspective artistry detailed dimensions are not always easily measured, the design was calked down to a prosaic annual planning. Then the situation appeared in its stark reality with all its internal and external financial difficulties. The Plan must be revised; it is not given up, it is not to be cut down or even re-phased, but it will be gently pared down to its core, its inner hard core: transport, coal, steel and power. This essential goal of the Plan will be reached thanks to external assistance from the U. S. A., Russia, West Germany and any country that feels responsive to our needs, thanks also to a renewed economic effort, taxation, savings, loans, and steady work.

At times people express disappointment that the Plan has no smooth running; yet the contrary would have been astonishing. The Plan was designed to develop heavy industry at a hurried pace, to erect factories, and large scale machinery to make machines, and machine-tools so as to put consumers industries on a sound and gigantic basis in the near future; this implied that consumers would have to wait for years before enjoying the fruits of progress and that in the meantime labour and staff as well as the suppliers of heavy machinery would have to be paid. Heavy machinery and the relevant technical staff could be had only in foreign countries; hence the strain on our external finances.

What could an agricultural country like India sell in order to meet the necessary expenses? Little besides agricultural produce and raw materials. Agricultural production did not come up to expectations, owing to bad weather, owing to the restricted use of irrigation water, owing to the traditional style of cultivation. As to raw materials their export was not sufficiently organised and markets little surveyed for large-scale enterprise. Internal resources were not ample, savings were cautiously husbanded, and taxation could hardly supplement the other deficiencies.

On the other hand, our planners felt suffused with the optimism born of a record monsoon crop in 1953-54 and with the harmony of their own statistics, and shouted down critics of their figures as "born pessimists". They even omitted to regulate general imports and boldly relied on the international credit India was enjoying, but foreign countries in their turn grew embarrassed in the economic maelstrom and military problems so that they could hardly calculate the assistance they could readily offer. Hence the solution, the hard core of the solution, as was shown in several war-ravaged countries, lies in work, more work, and hard work at that.

Bhoodan

The Bhoodan movement is so unique a phenomenon in agrarian reform that its evolution deserves mention, and should not escape the attention of fiscal authorities propagandizing taxation on gifts. To his series of gifts, bhoodan (land gift), sampattidan (income gift), shramdan (labour gift), boodhidan (intelligence gift), Vinoba Bhave recently added the gift of the power of speech (vakdan). Good old Vinobaji did not mean to offend anybody in making a distinction between intelligence gift and speech service. He is sure to obtain a plentiful crop of such a gift, and the most varied of all. Vakdan is usually a prosperous industry in democracies which is left to private initiative, at any rate outside the so-called people's democracies, and

has not yet been hampered by the most convinced planners. But it will inevitably be a mixed crop ; whether they denounce alleged injustices, criticise policies, moot proposals or participate in moonshine manufactures, writers and speakers will be working day and night, giving their all and giving it freely.

Sarvodaya

The most illustrious follower of Vinobaji is Mr. Jayprakash Narayan. Recently he published his personal Odyssey from Marxism, the "Popular Front" fallacy, State Socialism and party politics to the Sarvodaya land of his dreams. In his view, a "bourgeois" state replaced by a "socialist" state would leave equality and brotherhood as mere ideals ; in fact where this replacement took place, political parties have grown monolithic and all-powerful, and the State instead of withering away according to expectations became entrenched more firmly than even and even authoritarian ; a classless society had been promised, and lo ! there developed a new class more exclusive and tyrannical to submerge man as an independent entity. The secret of a genuinely new order is to be found in "sarvodaya", though "many flaws in sarvodaya thought and practice will be discovered" and will have to be removed in course of time. Hence what is needed is a radical change in the very conception of politics and government. One may suggest that this change means heart conversion of each citizen, safeguards against man's sinful inclinations and progressive approximation to social justice and charity.

At the last seminar on "Gramdan and its Economic and Political Aspects", Jayprakash, who has now shed all political pursuits to become a Bhoodan leader, renewed his declarations on the movement. There is no reason why collective farming should be introduced in the gift-villages ; such an experiment was tried in one village, but it had little future since in another village where it had been started earlier it was given up. Bhoodan workers insist on the democratic and voluntary aspect of the movement ;

moreover collective farming would require mechanical tilling on a large-scale and is not suited to the actual conditions of Indian villages. Bhoodan cautions all workers against creating a ruling class in the village, opposes unduly large properties, and the appropriation of land for unsocial purposes. In the Gram Samaj, Gram Sabhas and Gram Samitis decisions should always be unanimous or nearly so. In its ideology peasant proprietors are preferable to agriculturist proletarians.

With all this well in mind, one can only be surprised at seeing the Chief Minister of Kerala and its party proclaiming their support of the Bhoodan movement unless one guesses it may be for them another occasion for a clever zigzag.

Kerala Moonshine

The Kerala Cabinet is anxious to keep in the limelight; gathering the Comrades here and there, and scattering plans and promises right and left. At first they promised to increase the Plan's allocation from Rs. 87 crores to Rs. 200 crores or at least (in a second edition of their promise) to Rs. 125 crores. But so far they have no assurance whatever that they will have even the original Rs. 87 crores at their disposal. Another major step of theirs was the "neutral role" assigned to the police in agrarian and industrial disputes so as "to enable the working class, peasantry and other sections of the working people to carry on the struggle for the improvement of their working and living conditions". Just what is needed to frighten private capital away from Kerala!

A third step was the appointment of an Administrative Reforms Committee, since the present administration is "inefficient, unjust and oppressive in its relations to the basic masses producing the wealth". The Comrades evidently want an administration to suit their own foibles. They resent the decision of the High Court which stayed their premature measures implementing the famous Edu-

cational Bill which had not received the Union President's legal assent.

Dark Horizon

In spite of all, the Kerala Reds are not the worst threat to civic peace so badly needed for the second Five Year Plan. Recently there was at Calcutta a powwow of representatives of the Communist League, the Socialist Marxists, the Mazdoor Communist Party (Trotskyists) to form a "front of revolutionary Marxism, since in their view" an intransigent class struggle is to be pursued without subordinating it to the needs or wishes of the national bourgeoisie or the workers' bureaucracies in the Soviet Union and other peoples' democracies; there should be established a workers' and peasants' government through the revolutionary seizure of power by the working class". The programme was adopted, and a relentless offensive is to be launched against the bourgeois Congress Government and the reformist illusions cultivated by the Communist Socialist parties. That is a programme ominous enough for Bengal and the rest of the country.

New Comintern-Cominform

Whatever be official pronouncements of governments and officials, one must keep in mind the "Declaration" and "Peace Manifesto" published on November 22 at the close of the six-day Moscow congress of what was virtually a new Comintern-Cominform. The plan of action and the tactics were approved for a renewed world offensive of Communism. Unity and discipline in the parties, education of the masses in internationalism against "chauvinism" or bourgeois nationalism, unanimity in consolidating the Warsaw Pact, acceptance of the Soviet Union's guidance: such are the main outlines. As to the tactics: thoroughly discrediting the U.S.A. as the "centre of world reaction", the "worst enemy of the masses" and the "only threat to peace"; working up local nationalism against the U.S.A.; stepping up Communist propaganda everywhere; alignment with other parties and discontented groups and for-

mation of an "anti-imperialist and anti-feudalist front"; seizure of power by democratic manoeuvres if possible or by force "where the ruling classes do not yield power voluntarily".

What is striking is the similarity of the "Declaration" and "Peace Manifesto" of 1957 with the resolutions of the First Comintern Congress of 1919. The leopard has not changed its spots.

A. L.

Rationalisation of Industries

Rationalisation is the process of minimising expenses on an industry and maintaining or increasing its returns. The term "Rationalisation of Industries" literally means applying reason into industry; i.e., reasonably increasing or reducing the number of workers, the number of working hours and the use of certain types of machinery; combining the units with other industrial units for the purpose of joint purchase or sale; and doing such other things as will maintain or increase the returns on the industry. In order to survive, industries must change their mode of operation according to changing industrial and business conditions. Rationalisation is therefore an essential aspect of industrial management. In the present century it has come to mean particularly in advanced countries a definite process of industrial management. Many definitions have been given of the term "rationalisation". Some of them adopted by the International Labour Organisation are fairly clear and exhaustive. "Rationalisation in general", the I.L.O. once declared, "is any reform tending to replace habitual, antiquated practices by means of methods based on systematic reasonings". The Organisation has also defined rationalisation as "a reform which takes a group of business undertakings as a unit and tends to reduce waste and loss due to unbridled competition by concerted action

based on systematic reasonings". These definitions enable us to understand the connotations of the term rationalisation.

Origin of Rationalisation

The idea of rationalising industries first arose in Germany at the end of the first Global War. There was acute shortage of labour in Germany during this period owing to heavy war casualties. Consequently labour was becoming very expensive. Raw materials and motive power were also scarce and costly. The German industrialists therefore devised rationalisation as a solution. Since then rationalisation has become a distinct process with a philosophy of its own. It spread from Germany to other European Countries and to the other parts of the world during the third and fourth decades of the twentieth century. The idea of rationalisation is now spreading fast in our country too.

Methods of Rationalisation

There are many and varied methods of rationalisation. They differ from industry to industry according to their respective conditions of labour, finance, management and market. However, for a systematic analysis of different methods, they may be classified under three major heads, namely (1) Reorganisation, (2) Modernisation and (3) Scientific management.

Reorganisation means change in the organisation of industrial units with a view to maximise their efficiency. It takes two forms : (1) elimination of competition through combination and (2) change in the methods of production. Combination results in better adjustment of available resources and avoids duplication of work. It also increases financial resources, paves the way for modernisation and saves the industry from the clutches of depression. The second form of reorganisation, namely, change in the methods of production means better adjustment of the different factors of production leading to a maximum output

at a minimum cost. It also involves standardisation of products and quickening the rate of turn over.

The second method of rationalisation is called modernisation. It means change in the existing plant, use of the latest type of machinery and the replacement of human labour by mechanical labour as far as possible. Modernisation requires a large volume of funds and can take place only gradually. One school of economic thought holds that, in some cases, human labour may be found to be more efficient and economical than mechanical labour and therefore modernisation need not be a necessary process of rationalisation. By and large one thing is true about modernisation and that is that from the point of view of labour it is an objectionable process, as it leads to a reduction in the number of workers.

The last method of rationalisation is what is popularly known as scientific management. Scientific management was introduced by an American engineer, Dr. F. W. Taylor. Its whole process centres round three principles known as time-study, motion-study and fatigue-study. Under this system a sharp analysis is made of the motions, both of man and machine, in the change in the process of manufacture and an attempt is made to reduce them to the minimum by improved scientific division of labour and better adjustment of tools. Through scientific analysis and research, standard time to be taken in each process is also fixed. This helps the management to know whether the out-put of a particular workman is below standard or above standard. Study of fatigue felt in each process is also made and the process is simplified to make it least tiresome.

It is clear from what has been said so far that rationalisation aims at achieving the following :-

1. Eliminating all sorts of waste of energy and material,
2. Introducing better adjustment of various factors of production.

3. Putting the industry on a planned basis in place of haphazard working, and
4. Avoiding competition and duplication of work by combining with other units.

Rationalisation of Big Industries

A positive step in the direction of rationalising her industries was taken by India during the great depression that swept the world after the first Global War. During the third decade of the twentieth century the cement industry had to face many difficulties owing to the slump in trade and its very existence was threatened. Therefore in the year 1930 the Cement Marketing Company of India was floated with the object of jointly selling the total output of the members at economic prices. The members of different zones were asked to produce fixed quantities of cement and they were sold jointly in their respective zones as far as possible. In this way our Cement Industry was able to protect itself by eliminating competition and adjusting supply to demand. In the year 1936 another major step was taken in this direction when ten cement factories were amalgamated under the name of the Associated Cement Companies Ltd. In 1941, agreement was reached between the two groups which restricted competition still further.

The Iron and Steel Industry being mainly dominated by the Tata Iron and Steel Company who were responsible for more than 75% of the total production offered good scope for rationalisation. During the depression period due attention to rationalisation was paid by that Company. Labour saving devices were used and scientific management was adopted. As a result the cost of production of iron and steel was considerably reduced. Similarly, many other big industries like the Sugar, Jute and Cotton industries have profitably rationalized their undertakings.

Rationalisation and Labour

It is often asked whether India can afford to rationalise her small industries under her present economic conditions

and perplexing problems of unemployment and under-employment. Workers have always viewed with suspicion any attempt to streamline productive processes. Wherever reorganisation, modernisation and scientific management have been attempted, it has always evoked the workers protest and led to serious strikes. Therefore, it is hardly to be wondered at that, in India, rationalization should be regarded with genuine fears by the workers. Both in India and abroad — though rather more in India than in the west — the workers' fear has been that technological changes will result in large scale retrenchment and heavier workloads. But what is generally ignored is that rationalisation and modernisation are necessary in the interests of industrial expansion, higher productivity and creation of wider markets for goods through reduction in production costs. Thus, we find that on principle rationalisation is necessary both in large and small-scale industries and it is inevitable. Regarding its implementation however, a humanitarian view has to be taken. It should be a gradual process and not a sudden change dislocating the entire labour force.

One point, however, may be emphasised in this connection, that it will be wise to rationalise our small industries by adopting only methods of reorganisation and scientific management which affect labour to a negligible measure and by going slow in rationalising through modernisation which dislocates labour on a much larger scale.

Government and Rationalisation

The Government of India has rightly appreciated the importance of rationalising our industries. During the past few years, a few concrete steps have been taken by them to give due encouragement to rationalisation. In this connection, the attempt made by the Government of India at evolving a model agreement on rationalisation may be mentioned. The draft agreement which was placed before the

Indian Labour Conference, which met in New Delhi on 11th and 12th July, 1957, recognises the need for mutual aid and cooperation between management and labour to facilitate the operation of schemes of rationalisation. The agreement provides that, before introducing any technological change, which may result in a diminution of the total number of employees, the management shall give reasonable notice, ranging from three weeks to three months, to the workers' union of its intention to effect the change. Such a notice shall contain particulars regarding the nature of the proposed change, the date from which the change is to be introduced, proposed number of workers covered and expected earnings. The representatives of both the management and labour will thereafter meet and discuss the proposal. If there is agreement between the parties, the employer may introduce the change on the date agreed upon by them. If, as a result of the introduction of the technological change, some employees are likely to be rendered surplus, the draft agreement provides, that steps should be taken to expand, if possible, the activities of the plant or the unit of production, so as to absorb these persons. No employee shall be retrenched if other jobs are available in the same plant or under the same employer which carry a comparable pay, subject to the fitness of the employee for the alternative job. Differences between the parties on any matter covered by the agreement shall be referred to arbitration. For this purpose, the agreement provides that a panel of arbitrators acceptable to both parties should be maintained by the employer.

It is clear from the very nature of the draft agreement cited above, that its purpose is chiefly to encourage rationalisation in medium and large-scale industries, and that small-scale industries may not be, to a large extent, in a position to carry out the provisions laid therein. But alongside the efforts to rationalise the big industries the Government of

India have not neglected the question of rationalising smaller industries.

Rationalisation of Small Industries

A few major steps have been taken during the past few years to rationalise small industries in a very practical way. These efforts take the form either of "Reorganisation", "Modernisation" or "Scientific Management" and are to a large extent made through the Small Industries Service Institutes of the Government of India which have been established in a number of centres in different parts of the country.

These Institutes, for example, provide "Industrial Estates" for particular types of industries so that they may be gradually lured into habits of organised buying and selling, or into having cooperative units or combinations of their own to receive the common facilities provided by the Estate. These are in effect attempts at rationalising industries through the first method of rationalisation, namely, reorganisation. The second method of rationalisation viz. modernisation is also adopted by these Institutes. For instance, they maintain demonstration vans that are fitted with modern machinery which are sent to industrial centres to be displayed to industrialists so as to educate them in their use and advantages with the hope that they will give up using their old inefficient machines and go in for modern ones such as those that were demonstrated to them. The Institute staff also, wherever and whenever possible, try to encourage the use of modern machines to the industries. Rationalisation through scientific management is also pursued by the Institutes to some extent. But not much importance is paid to scientific management yet perhaps due to one important consideration, namely, that the time is not ripe enough for our small industries to take to scientific management which is based on time-study, motion-study

and fatigue-study. By and by, it is hoped that the Small Industries Service Institutes will also spread ideas about scientific management and take yet another positive step towards rationalisation.

Finally in this connection, reference must be made to organisations like the "Indian Productivity Centre" and the "Training Within Industry" Centre, of the Government of India. These centres maintain qualified staff that carry out researches on rationalisation, productivity of labour, scientific management, internal management of factories etc. and try to introduce the useful findings in our industries.

F. Ryan

A New Social Class

Forty years have passed since the day when the Bolsheviks came to power in Russia and ousted the Czars. These have been eventful years not only for Russia but for the whole world. The fervent revolutionary spirit that battled for high ideals like economic equality, the proletarian paradise on earth where each would receive according to his needs and from each would be required according to his capacity, the millenium when the state would disappear and exploitation end, has long since disappeared and in its place has been erected a totalitarian dictatorship the like of which the world has never known and never feared as much. But ever since the death of Stalin a whole series of puzzling transformations have been taking place within the very structural formation of the Communist party. First there was the notion of collective leadership, then the denigration of Stalin, now the rise of Krushchev to well nigh supreme power. In the mean time the appearance of the sputniks circling the skies have filled the world with admiration for the advance of Soviet science. There is no doubt that in India the estimation of the Rus-

sians has risen in the public mind, though this does not mean that the Communist system as such has become reputable as well. However much of the inglorious past tends to be forgotten in the blaze of scientific advancement.

What the Communists say

Despite the triumphant 'beeps' from Moscow on the occasion of the fortieth anniversary, other voices were heard that did not paint the glorious revolution in such flamboyant colours. One of the most important of them is the recent sociological study *The New Class* by Mr. Milovan Djilas, who had the courage to publish his opinions and is now languishing in a prison in Yugoslavia for daring to do so. Djilas has produced a most interesting survey of the present governing class in Russia. He is a Communist and though he is serving a prison sentence today, he still remains attached to his leftist ideology. But his knowledge of the group to which he belongs is naturally authentic for Mr. Djilas has been closely connected with Yugoslav's Tito for years and has watched the growth of Communism and the Communist party both in the USSR and in Yugoslavia ever since the end of the last world war when Tito came into power in Yugoslavia.

Marx and Class

In the Marxism sociological analysis of the place and influence of social class, Marx would divide history into several periods, e.g. ancient civilisation, feudalism, and capitalism. Each of these periods is characterised by a predominant mode of production and, based upon it, a class structure consisting of a ruling and an oppressed class. The struggle between these classes determines the social relations between men. In particular, the ruling class which owes its position to the ownership and control of the means of production, thereby subtly controls the whole moral and intellectual life of the people. According to Marx, law and government, art and literature, science and philosophy, the superstructure as he calls it, is really made more or less directly to serve the interests of the ruling class.

In the period of its revolutionary ascendance each class is progressive in two ways. Its economic interests are identical with technical progress, and hence with increased human welfare. And its efforts to pursue these interests align this class on the side of liberating ideas and institutions, and against all those who retard technical progress and consequently human welfare. But as time goes on the ascending class becomes the ruling class, and then it comes to play a different role. Its economic interests, which originally favoured technical progress, now demand a contrary effort since the dominance it has won is now being jeopardised. It gradually becomes a reactionary party and finally generates such opposition to its conservative programme that a new party is formed and a new conflict takes place till the former party is destroyed. But this process will not continue indefinitely. It will stop with the destruction of the Capitalists and the enthroning of the proletariat in a Socialist state where the means of production will be in the hands of all, so that exploitation of one class by another through ownership of the means of production becomes impossible and therefore puts an end to class warfare.

For Marx a social class is an aggregate of persons performing the same function in the organisation of production. This idea is based on the conception that work is man's basic form of self-realisation. It is through labour that a man satisfies his basic needs and as new needs arise he combines with his fellow men through new methods of production to satisfy them. The ultimate determinant of class however is not so much income or consumption patterns or education, which are merely prestige symbols, but the way in which the individual co-operates with other human beings to satisfy his needs. From this arises class consciousness which helps to weld the individuals of a particular class together under pressure of economic and political circumstances.

The New Class

Djilas follows closely this Marxian theory and applies it rigidly to effect in the Communist world. According to Djilas the new ruling class in Russia and the Communist countries in general is restricted to the stratum of the professional revolutionaries who make up its core. It is not made up of liberated proletarians at all, but consists of a new group of owners and exploiters. The Communist party in the countries behind the iron curtain are identical which the new class arises. The distinguishing marks of the which the new class arises. The distinguishing mars of the new class are the special privileges and economic advantages that its members enjoy, by reason of the administrative-monopoly they hold.

Just as the aristocracy rose from the powerful peasant class, and the bourgeoisie from the commercial and artizan class, so this new class has its origins in the proletariat. The movement of this new class to power was motored by the growth of the class consciousness of the proletariat who were exploited by the capitalists. Hence the party leans heavily on the mass of the proletarians, since its interests are identical with their own. And this will last till the new class establishes its power and authority. In the meantime it uses the proletariat to develop production and restrain all opposing forces.

Ownership

The ownership privilege of the new class manifests itself as an exclusive right for the political bureaucracy to distribute the national income, set wages, direct economic development and dispose national and other property to serve its own interests. They are further displayed in the fact that all the top administrative posts are reserved for members of the party. The difference in earnings between the top officials and the ordinary worker is extreme in the Communist countries. The new class has selfishly kept all the increase in productivity due to the expansion of industry and the use of advanced techniques all to itself.

No dogmatists

Finally the new class no longer needs revolutionaries or dogmatists to preserve its power. It is quite satisfied with average men like Malenkov, or Bulganin or Khrushchev. The days of dogmatism and purges due to dogmatism seem to be over and the new class would like to live quietly in the secure enjoyment of the fruits it has won. This is obvious from the fact that the de-Stalinization tendency has been mainly directed to prevent the periodic purges of party members so dear to Stalin. And the decentralization so much spoken of is only a blind to share a little more generously with the lower echelons of the party ranks the rich profits now exclusively enjoyed by the upper ten in the Communist Party. In Communism, says Djilas, power and ownership always remain in the same hands. Although legally all have equal rights to material goods and the results of increased industrial productivity, only a small monopolistic group are able to exercise these rights. In Yugoslavia, an attempt has recently been made to establish what are known as systems of Worker Managements, in which workers actually decide the policy of the firm and are elected to various executive posts for a fixed period. In Djilas' judgement, the autonomy of these systems are severely restricted and in most cases they are legalistic fictions. Even the share in profits by workers is rigidly controlled so that most of the bonus is taxed by the State and the workers left with a mere pittance.

The Party State

Under the Communist system, says Djilas, people quickly learn what they are permitted to do and what they cannot do. The laws are a mere facade to hide the iniquity of the Communist system. The party is the ultimate real element of control. All the top administrative and judicial posts are reserved for professional Communists. The State and the Army being transformed into the weapons of the party. A certain amount of rigid ideological unity is demanded from the leading personalities in all these privileged positions, and the rest of the people have to adjust them-

elves somehow to these requirements. Such ideological unity is a characteristic of a personal dictatorship or of a collective dictatorship, the members of which regard themselves as the sole depositories and interpreters of Marxist dogma. The State is thus completely subordinated to the Party. The Legislature, the Judiciary and the Executive are made up of practically only party members.

Similarly the economic policy of the country is also dictated to serve party interests. That is the reason for sudden changes in policy. Everything has to work according to a fixed plan in the Soviet dominated countries, in spite of the fact that Marx was no planner. The result of such a fixed predetermined policy reduces the industrial and agricultural worker to the status of a slave. There can be no freedom of employment, forced labour has become almost a stable institution, no strikes are permitted, and Labour camps have been opened for recalcitrant workers. However admits Djilas, even in the Communist system there is a limit to exploitation from the very nature of things. In an age of increasing automation, highly skilled and voluntary work is required in order to supervise the machines. This has led to a closing of several labour camps. But labour is still by no means free from the exploitation of the new class. It is realised however that it is better to have willing workers.

Despite planning, Communist economic policy, says Djilas, is frightfully wasteful. While great advances have been made in industry, has anyone counted the cost in blood, sweat, and tears of the millions who have been sacrificed to such development. In a free country this element of cost has to be taken into consideration. Human values are fundamental.

National Communism

Unlike Marx who always believed that the workers of the world would unite into a great army of the proletariat, Djilas discovers that though Marxists may possess a

common ideology this common heritage has to be grafted into differing backgrounds of culture, institutions and traditions. Hence there are bound to be differences. Thus have arisen the various Communist systems of National Communism. The Soviet Commissar has much in common with a Czarist oligarch. Both the Czarist and the Soviet bureaucrat form a class by themselves and are very conscious of the difference. International Communism is therefore impossible. However the Communists in Soviet Russia though differently and in their desire to advance their imperialist designs of world domination clashed with Yugoslavia and later with East Germany, Hungary and Poland. These developments were certainly unexpected in the days of Lenin, but history proves the truth of the assertion especially when one realises that both the Comintern and the Cominform had to be dissolved in order to avoid dangerous quarrels and dissensions within the Iron Curtain itself.

But the recognition of national species of Communism must imply ideological differences and deviations from the pure stream of Marxism as accepted or imposed in the Soviet Union. Such ideological independence can already be seen at work in Poland where it is reported that young Russian Communists were surprised and perhaps scandalised at the revisionist attitudes of young Polish Communists. Djilas sees in this new tendency a dangerous trend towards a complete reappraisal of Marxism. Incidentally this movement away from Marx will spell the downfall of the main prop of Soviet Imperialism.

If the Communists begin to show signs of disagreement and deviation in their own ideological beliefs, the distance that separates them from the Social Democratic parties in Europe has grown wider with time. It now appears that National Communism is not half way house between the two extremes, but a divergent tendency altogether. Very fundamental differences have risen between the Soviet brand of Communism and Democratic Socialism

as it is understood in Europe today. There is therefore no hope of the Communists using these Socialist parties to expand their sway over the rest of the world. According to Djilas, Khrushchev has practically admitted that the only possibility of Communist expansion today is a global war.

Appraisal

For his outspoken and candid judgement of the role of the Communist party in the USSR, Yugoslavia and the enslaved countries in Europe, Djilas is now serving a prison sentence. It is not common for a high ranking Communist like Djilas to bear witness to what he believes to be the truth by sacrificing his career. But the deed manifests the character of the man and proves his value and the truth of his witness. Here is one more Communist who has discovered and revealed the dark menacing nature and the cruel tyranny of a small class of bureaucrats over the rest of his country. His disillusionment has been as keen as that of many others before him who have fled their native soil and sought refuge in the free world. In his analysis of the New Class, Djilas closely follows the Marxian pattern in accounting for the rise of the class, its movement towards domination, its use of the state and the army to maintain its hegemony. But he disagrees with Marx's conclusion that with the proletarian revolution the millenium would be established. Instead a new class has arisen from the proletariat and is now straining every resource to maintain its power. Will it succeed? The tensions between the new class and the army are increasing, in spite of Zhukov's dismissal. Even within the new class there is a struggle as to who should share the prize plums in the booty.

Meanwhile the revolutions in Poland and Hungary are signs of the growth of a nationalist Communism. Hungary was essentially a Communist revolution against the Communist system. As Cardinal Mindzenty put it, the revolution was not a revolution, but a fight for freedom. For in the vanguard of the movement there were extreme leftist elements like writers Union, the undergraduates'

Petofi Circle and the industrial workers. Among all these groups there has been a very keen disillusionment with the Marxist system. Yet no movement to the Right can be detected. But there is certainly an aggressive spirit against Communist Party represented especially in former times by the hated secret police.

The Sputniks may have thrown a flash of glory across this dark and cruel landscape, but the novelty of the Sputniks will not last long, and their propaganda value will decrease with time. The people and especially the leaders of the people in the under-developed countries to whom this achievement has seemed well nigh miraculous must remember that human freedom and human values can never be sacrificed to industrial progress and that man does not live by bread alone. It is true that the Soviet Union is perhaps today the most advanced industrial country in the world, but has such progress been worth the cost? It has not profited the Russian people for who are more likely to enjoy the fruits of such labour but the few bureaucrats who form the essence of the new class? Djilas' contribution to a knowledge of the new class, an insight into its formation, strength and weakness is invaluable in these days when the Soviet propaganda machine is doing its best to conceal the stresses and strains in the Soviet camp. In democratic India there is always the danger that in the atmosphere of freedom that we enjoy, the enemies of freedom might use the opportunity to destroy freedom itself. If the Communist experiment is failing in Kerala, it seems to stand a much better chance of succeeding in West Bengal, where there will be no Catholics to spearhead the opposition. It will be the duty of every lover of true freedom not to be enchanted by the beeps of the Sputniks but listen attentively and sympathetically to the groans, cries and tears that can still be heard from Hungary, East Germany, the so-called Baltic Republics, and the vast Soviet hinterland.

A. Fonseca

Documentation

COMMUNISM, FAMILY PLANNING AND THE FILMS

*A Statement of the Catholic Bishop's Conference of India
19th November, 1957.*

Communism

The emergence of Communism into an organised party and the success in one State is a significant phenomenon as well as a warning portent. While we are not concerned with partisan politics, we cannot but take into consideration the religious and moral issues of the policy and programme of the party.

The Education Bill of the Communist Government in Kerala with its drastic and arbitrary laws and regulations has given rise to a disquieting situation. The various provisions of the Bill are an unwarranted intrusion into the fundamental rights of parents and of religious minorities in the field of education. The protests raised by responsible persons of all schools of political and religious thought are an indication of the alarm roused among the people of Kerala, following the daring attempt at the rigid control and eventual nationalisation of schools.

We do not question the right of the State to frame regulations for the steady and orderly advancement of education. But we strongly object to interference with the sacred and inalienable rights of parents to educate their children according to their wishes and religious convictions and of the Church to conduct schools in accordance with the historic policy of liberty, autonomy and tolerance and the guarantees under Article 30 of the Constitution of the Republic of India.

Though the Communist leaders in Kerala have positively assured before and after the elections that they will respect all religious faiths, they have unmistakeably manifested their totalitarian tendencies, antagonism to Christians and their religious convictions to educate their children in accordance with their faith. Catholics should not be penalised for the legitimate demands to safeguard their natural rights by means of schools established primarily for their children. Any monopoly, educational or scholastic, which throttles private agencies and compels families to make use of State schools is opposed to the dictates of their conscience or even to their legitimate preference and hence unlawful and unjust.

Incompatible with Catholic Teaching

We wish to warn and remind all Catholics that the Communist philosophy of life is incompatible with Catholic teaching on the

nature of man, the nature of society and the nature of truth, as well as the meaning and purpose of life. His Holiness Pope Pius XII declared: "Everywhere the opposing forces are locked in a decisive struggle; faith in God and denial of God; primacy of the spirit and predominance of the material; value accorded to human personality and its relegation to rubbish-heap; the order that is born out of reason and the chaos that follows the misuse of reason." Hence no Catholic can be a Communist. Any Catholic who professes and propagates a materialistic and anti-Christian doctrine is thereby outside the pale of the Church and incurs ex-communication especially reserved to the Holy See.

Causes of Communism

One of the potent causes of Communism, we need hardly say, is the poverty of the working classes who easily fall victims to vision of plenty and prosperity presented by designing leaders. We urge all Catholics to take more active interest in all wholesome national schemes for the betterment of the social and economic condition of the masses and thus promote their spiritual happiness and material progress. The social teaching of the Catholic Church concerning the individual and social character of private property has been explained by Pope Pius XI in his Encyclical on "Atheistic Communism." It is Christianity that "first affirmed the real and universal brotherhood of all men of whatever race and social condition.... Not bloody revolution, but the inner force of her teaching made the proud Roman matron to see in her slave a sister in Christ." It is Christianity also which raised manual labour to its dignity. The fundamental remedy to social unrest and class struggle and to Atheistic Communism lies in a "sincere renewal of the private and public life according to the principles of the Gospel." Catholics have a wide field open to them for social service among the poor and victims of misery for reasons beyond their control.

Family Planning

Catholics should co-operate wholeheartedly in all constructive schemes which are not antagonistic to God's laws. We feel it our duty to call the attention of our people to the organised propaganda for family planning. The limitation of families by means of unnatural devices is an offence against the laws of nature and of God, defeating as it does the primary ends of the holy state of married life. Deliberate destruction of potential life is a crime, next only to murder as St. Thomas pointed out already in the 13th century. The use of contraceptives poisons the springs of family life, engenders and promotes selfishness and leads to many social and economic disorders as well as unhappiness.

among families. Not only the natural moral law, but the traditions of our country and the sacredness of family life instinctively rouse in the minds of unwary and illiterate persons a feeling of aversion towards these unlawful methods. Mahatma Gandhi, in his article in the *Harijan* of March 28, 1936, said: "The greatest harm, however, done by the propaganda, lies in its rejection of the old ideal and substitution in its place of one which, if carried out, must spell the moral and physical extinction of the race.... Contraceptives of a kind there were before and there will be hereafter, but the use of them was formerly regarded as sinful. It was reserved for our generation to glorify vice by calling it virtue. The greatest disservice protagonists of contraceptives are rendering to the youth of India is to fill their minds with what appears to me to be wrong ideology. Let the young men and women of India, who hold her destiny in their hands, beware of this false god and guard the treasure with which God has blessed them and use it, if they wish, for the only purpose for which it is intended."

The teachings of the Catholic Church are in conformity with the precious heritage of our people. No one can make use of these devices without infringing not only the moral law, but also, the positive laws of God.

Film Shows

We wish also to caution Catholics against the grave moral danger facing present-day youth-unseemly film shows. These draw crowded houses composed of boys and girls, lowering in their minds the high moral standards for which the Church and family life of our country have always stood. His Holiness the Pope, in his Encyclical addressed to the 1,500 Catholic Bishops of the world, on September 8, 1957, exhorted the faithful to keep themselves away from scenes which depict the sordid features of fallen human nature. His Holiness warned them "not only to exercise watchful care, but also to use positive action and authority . . . so that by means of this difficult and extensive province of the art, the Church's ideas may be ever more widely spread.... For, these new possessions and new instruments, which are within almost everyone's grasp, introduce a most powerful influence into men's minds, both because they can flood them with light, raise to nobility, adorn them with beauty, and because they can disfigure them by dimming their lustre, dishonour them by a process of corruption, and make them subject to uncontrolled passions, according to whether the subjects presented to the senses in those shows are praiseworthy or reprehensible."

Referring to the young Catholics of the world, the Pope said : " It is their grave obligation to check and control that natural and unrestrained eagerness to hear anything, and they must keep their mind free from immodest and earthly pleasures and direct it to higher things."

Social Trends Abroad

Economics and Science in the U.S.A.

Economic expansion is more and more linked up with and dependent on scientific research ; the increasing demand for highly specialized skilled labour makes the investment in the field of higher education a vital necessity. Stated in a few words these are the ideas commonly accepted in the American Economic world. They are discussed in a recent article by the former Belgian minister of public education, Mr. Harmel, who gives an account of his experiences gathered during his recent tour in the United States. We give here a short review of this interesting study ⁽¹⁾

The author opens his article with the remark that the same views and ideas are gaining ground in Russia, especially since the atom conference in Geneva 1955, which might be called the most decisive event in the post-war scientific development the world is witnessing today.

Facts

There is first an increasing percentage of the youth who follow secondary and higher education as shown in the table below :

		<i>High School</i>			<i>College</i>		
		1900	1951-'55	1955-'65	1900	1951-'55	1970
Entry	...	20%	86%	95%	4%	26%	45%
Final	...	10%	56%	75%	2%	13%	

(1) P. Harmel, *Economie, Wetenschap, Onderwijs in de U.S.A.*, in *Streven*, Mei 1957, p.705-714.

A second table shows us how in 15 years time as a consequence of the rise in percentage given above, the number of scientific men, employed by the government, industry and the university and scientific institutions is tripled :

	<i>Govern.</i>	<i>Industry</i>	<i>Universities ; scientific institutions</i>	<i>Total</i>
1941	17.000	62.000	8.000	87.000
1948	25.000	90.000	18.000	133.000
1956	38.000	165.000	45.000	248.000

The credits put aside for purely scientific research are steadily increasing : 116 million dol. in 1930, 900 million in 1941, 2610 million in 1948, 2750 million in 1952, 4210 million in 1955, and in 1970 they will amount to 8100 million dol., 57% came from the part of the government, 41% from the industry, 2% from scientific foundations.

Why these efforts ?

From his frequent contact and discussions with university departments and scientific institutes, the author has been able to draw up a threefold answer on this question.

(1) In the future economic expansion will more and more depend on new discoveries and the improvement of methods, which can only be expected from a steadily improving scientific and professional capacity. The table below gives a clear illustration of this fact.

<i>Goods produced in 1 working-hour (value 1940)</i>		<i>Distribution of working power</i>		
		<i>man</i>	<i>animal</i>	<i>machine</i>
1850	0,27 dol.	15%	79%	6%
1900	0,56 dol.	10%	52%	38%
1930	0,82 dol.	4%	12%	84%
1960	1,62 dol.	3%	1%	96%

5 times higher efficiency than 100 years ago, requires 5 times less man-power, which very soon will contribute only for 1% in the making of a product, the remaining 99% being supplied by the machine. This however does not mean that man will be eliminated. On the contrary, his intellect and ingenuity will more than ever be required in order to speed up the productivity of the machine which by itself will never become more intelligent, nor more productive!

(2) The economic power of a nation is not measured by the number of its population, but by that of the specialized skilled labour it has at its disposal.

The author quotes here the words of Mr. Eden when he says that a dozen people technically and scientifically equipped, can now realize as much as thousands of people some 50 years ago. — The USA with only 6% of the world-population answer for 50% of the world production, having an active population of 65 million people. Among these there are about 8 à 9 million qualified labourers, about 500,000 technicians who all work under the guidance of about 5 millions of scientists and intellectuals. This means that half of the world-production is controlled by about 14 million of competent Americans! The question arises whether and how this group can be extended, to which the answer is obvious: by an extension of higher education: both in high-schools and universities.

Some figures given by the author show that in this respect the USA will soon be surpassed by Russia if there does not come a turning in their policy:

		U. S. A.	U. S. S. R.
	Engineers	530.000	520.000
1953	Physicians	195.000	280.000
	Agronomists	150.000	170.000
1960 (estimated)	Engineers & Scientists	900.000	1.200.000

(3) Since the human capital consisting in scientifically trained skilled labour is of such importance, the problem of scientific research has to be considered as an economic datum. Money has to be invested in it and a far-seeing policy must be carried through in the field of education.

The making of capital, wrote Colin Clark (*The Declining Importance of Capital*), was one hundred years ago the key to economic expansion; now it has become an element of relatively less importance. The development of a country depends to a large extent on its non-material capital in the form of education and training, more than on its material capital or its equipment.

Industrialists regard financial help to higher education as an economic investment, and not as a mere playing the part of a Maecenas nor even as a moral obligation. The problem of higher education in the USA is integrated in the economic train of thought and considered as part of economic policy.

Objections

We come now to the difficulties raised by the author and the answers he received. They will give us a still more complete picture of the prevailing opinion among America's industrialists.

(1) Is the mass of skilled labourers capable of undergoing such a highly specialized scientific training and is this capacity illimited?

To this was answered that the present percentage of the youth following 2 years of higher education (30 a 32%) can still be raised by 18% (confirmed by tests made in the army); 32% would be able to do 4 years of higher education. "We do not believe that there will soon be put a limit to the human possibilities of invention and perfection."

(2) Is it possible to any kind of national economy to use a steadily increasing number of specialised labourers and university-students ?

The answer ran as follows : first, for many years to come, the demand will largely surpass the supply ! To give only a few instances : for the next ten years, primary education will require for each year 100.000 teachers, and only $1/5$ are available ; there should be 22.000 more physicians than there are for the moment, and this shortage will raise to 45.000 in 1960 ; the army was some time ago 30% short of specialized personnel. In the field of technology however, the needs are still more spectacular : 25.000 engineers complete their studies every year, while 45.000 are required 50.000 chemists, physicists etc. were needed in 1954, but only 34.000 of them finished their studies.

In the economic sphere on the other hand, this shortage of trained personnel presents itself as follows. It has already been pointed out that economic progress depends on higher productivity and consequently on more advanced scientific research. The output of one hour's labour will rise in accordance with the productivity of the machine, which as we have already pointed out always remains the product of human ingenuity, handiness and experience. Consequently, human capital assumes from day to day a more and more important part in expanding production. Although there is f.i. an increase in the production of the aircraft since 1939, the quantity of labour has not become less ; on the contrary ! The making of one 'jet' in 1956 requires 80 times more work-power than it was the case for the most modern plane in the beginning of world-war II. And it is not difficult to see that the new commercial possibilities thrown open by nuclear research — heating, power, medicine — will create a host of new professions, which in turn will need specialized labourers....

Finally we come to the last question : will not this technical progress lead to a dehumanized, mere technical civilization, at the expense of our cultural traditions ?

The answer to this pointed out, first that the cultural level of the people necessarily must rise with the spreading of secondary and higher education. Secondly, the fact has been established that all professions have known a numerical increase, though proportionally there has been a decline of the juridical and religious careers and of art and literature. It can not be said however that they have been disproportionally absorbed by the scientific and technical careers, which obviously have known a very high increase.

A new "creed" is professed in the USA: while the past was keen on examining the earth in order to find new possibilities of exploitation, the present concentrates itself on the unreclaimed domain of the talents of man.

Conclusion

The author finishes his article with drawing some conclusions with regard to the economic situation in Europe, which will have established in 10 years time a market as big as that of the USA (160 million of people: common market-treaty). Will it be ready to meet with the new problems and possibilities that the extension of the market will necessarily bring about?

"It is a privilege to our generation to be the witness to this turning-point in the world's history during which true social emancipation is being realized, and the professional, intellectual and social advancement of the worker is being considered not any more as a mere privilege, but as an economic necessity".

Social Survey

Dowry

The Andhra Legislative Assembly has finally passed into law the Andhra Dowry Prohibition Bill. This is the first law of its kind in India.

The dowry system prevails practically all over the country. While in certain regions it is the bridegroom who is made to pay for getting a bride, in others it is the bride who has to pay. The amount of the dowry is directly proportional to the status and qualifications of the bridegroom. The amount may vary from a few hundred rupees to many thousands. In certain parts of the West Coast a carter may demand a minimum of a thousand rupees. This is, as is evident, an intolerable burden on the poor man whose wife has been overgenerous in presenting him with daughters. Dowry has been the ruin of innumerable families and of untold misery.

Another evil consequence of the dowry system is sex delinquency among young women. Some unable to get married turn to evil ways to satisfy their cravings, quite a few such women landing in houses of ill fame. Others, to earn a dowry deliberately lead an immoral life for a certain numbers of years and when they have collected enough return to their villages and settle down. Many cases of neurosis among urban spinsters can be easily traced to the dowry system.

Andhra deserves to be congratulated for passing this most welcome piece of social legislation. We earnestly hope that other States will follow suit and eradicate this pernicious pestilence root and branch.

The Andhra Act defines dowry as "consideration for marriage and for other matters relating thereto and includes any property or valuable security given or agreed to be given to one party to a marriage or to any other persons on behalf of such a party, by the other party to the marriage or by any other persons on behalf of such other party either at such marriage or betrothal or before or after such marriage. No custom or usage hitherto in force will prevail against the new law. The offence is non-cognisable and is bailable. Whoever gives or takes or abets the giving or taking of dowry shall be punishable with imprisonment not exceeding six months or with fine not exceeding Rs. 1000 or both. The offences are non-compoundable.

It is to be earnestly hoped that the State Government will see to it that the law is rigorously enforced. We Indians are adepts in placing new laws on the Statute Book and once they are placed there of quickly forgetting them. Quite a few laws for the betterment of society have been passed by the various legislatures but little is done to enforce them. The Child Marriage Restraint Act, 1929 is a good example. Though the present Act has been drafted with great care devotees of the dowry system will find ways and means of circumventing its provisions.

The I.L.O. and Asia

The report of the Director General of the I.L.O. which was submitted to its Fourth Asian Regional Conference shows the progress made in the implementation of I.L.O. standards in Asia, the effect given to the resolutions adopted at earlier conferences, and refers to the technical assistance and other activities of the I.L.O. in Asia.

A resolution was taken at the First Regional Conference in 1947 suggesting that Governments establish programmes for the enforcement of social standards embodied in the I.L.O. Conventions, and Recommendations not yet accepted or ratified.

India has ratified three important conventions so far since the resolution was adopted: Minimum Wage-Fixing machinery, 1928; Forced Labour, 1930; and Minimum Age in Industry, 1919. Burma, Japan and Pakistan have also set up machinery for examining the possibility of giving effect to the I.L.O. Conventions. During the 28 years between the inception of the I.L.O. and the meeting of the first Asian Regional Conference in 1947, five States in the region had communicated a total of 62 ratifications. The total number of ratifications in 1957 is 147 ratifications by ten member states.

The ILO's operational and standard-setting functions have been closely related. One example is the work done in Burma in the field of minimum wage policy. With the help of an ILO expert, wage councils were established; when this had been done the Government was able to ratify the Minimum Wage-Fixing Machinery Convention, 1928. There have also been instances where this process was reversed.

In the economic development plans of Ceylon, Japan, India and Pakistan, considerable importance is given to workers' housing problems. In India, housing investment has been raised from 2.1 per cent of the total investment in the first five-year plan to 2.5

per cent in the second five-year plan. In Japan investment for private housing is expected to rise from 980 million yen in 1954 to 1,740 million in 1960.

One significant feature of Asian housing programmes is the increased attention being given to town planning. But for the great bulk of Asian workers, roughly 85 per cent of whom live in rural communities, aided self-help housing is still the best way of achieving immediate improvement of housing conditions. Two housing research centres have recently been established in New Delhi and in Bandung as a result of consultations between the ILO and the United Nations and ECAFE.

Over 35 per cent, i.e. \$ 1,047,000 of the ILO technical assistance resources in 1957 has been approved for implementation of the programme in the Asian region.

In 1956, some 90 ILO experts were assigned to Asia; 68 fellowships were awarded to Asians. The 1957 approved programme makes provision for 96 experts and 85 long term fellowships and traineeships as well as for a considerable number of short-term fellowships. Manpower organisation, including vocational training, continues to absorb about one-half of the over-all resources. Other fields of activity of the technical assistance programme in Asia are labour conditions and administration, co-operation and handicrafts, and social security. In Asian countries relatively greater emphasis than in other countries receiving technical assistance has been put on co-operation and handicrafts, which in 1956-57 amount to 22 to 23 per cent of the total programme.

The ILO has been co-operating with the Pakistan government in conducting a manpower survey aimed at determining the underlying relationships of manpower supply and demand. Similar assistance was also granted to the Government of India.

A large vocational training centre was established in Bandung with the assistance of the ILO. By the end of 1956 a total of 97 Indonesian instructors had been trained by a seven-man ILO team. The ILO also co-operated in the establishment of Training Within Industry courses for supervisors in Ceylon; 40 government officers and industrial engineers were trained and general information about the scheme was given to about 2000 representatives of government departments and industrial undertakings. The ILO also provided the services of an apprenticeship expert to the Federation of Malaya.

Finally, technical assistance on vocational rehabilitation is being provided to Burma, Ceylon and Indonesia.

A productivity mission sent to India in 1954 helped in the establishment of the National Productivity Centre in Bombay. In 1955 another productivity mission was sent to Pakistan to work in the textile industry.

The ILO's work with respect to co-operatives has been mainly concerned with the promotion of suitable institutional conditions for co-operative development, the training of personnel and co-operative organisation.

Workers' Education

About four lakhs of workers are expected to be trained during the next five years under the scheme of workers' education. The object of the programme is to educate workers in the principles and techniques of trade union organisation and to enable them to play an intelligent and responsible part in the affairs of the union and of the management. The nucleus of the training programme for the workers will be the teacher-administrators, who will in turn, train teachers to carry out the scheme.

A training course for the first batch of 60 teacher-administrators will begin in Bombay from January 1958. On completing their training, the teacher-administrators will be sent to different industrial centres in the country to train factory workers to become teachers. These teachers will handle classes for workers.

A Government Committee will select 45 candidates for admission to the training courses from universities, social education institutions, employers' organisations and trade unions. The remaining 15 candidates will be nominees of trade unions. The 45, after their training is completed will be absorbed by the Central Board of Workers' Education to be set up shortly. The trade union candidates will revert, at the end of the training period, to their respective unions and organised educational programmes for the members of the union. A provision of Rs. 600,000 has been made in the Second Five Year Plan for workers' education.

N. E. S.

Work in 220 National Extension Service Blocks was taken up on October 2, 1957.

The success of the Community Projects and National Extension Blocks depends to a great extent on trained personnel. It is estimated that the country would need, at the end of the Second Plan period, 50,000 Gram Sevaks to implement the programme. Over 18,000 Gram Sevaks have already been trained by the Government. The training capacity in the existing 55 extension training centres and 77 basic agricultural schools augmented by the 17 additional wings and schools, proposed to be set up in future, is considered adequate to train up the balance of 31,000 Gram Sevaks during the Plan period.

There is a marked shortage of women workers in the categories of Gram Sevaks as well as Social Educational organisers. Whereas more than 3,500 trained Gram Sevikas were needed at the end of the Second Plan period only 406 had been trained till the end of March 1957.

F. C. Rodrigues

School Children

The Punjab Government has decided to provide daily, free lifts to school children up to the age of 12, in State-owned buses, to enable them to attend their schools and also for the homeward journey in all towns and villages and at other places in the State where State-owned transport is available.

Would that other States copy this humanitarian example of the Punjab Government. It is a matter of great regret that tender children are made to walk long distances to attend school simply because they cannot afford to pay even the special travelling concessions made available to them in some places. With the cost of living so high many hardpressed parents find it very difficult to pay the school fees and provide the other requisites for their children. Our Municipal and State-owned transports would be earning the gratitude of these little ones by giving them free lifts to and from school. This might entail some little loss in income but it is well worth it.

Cook

It was announced in the Rajya Sabha that the Chief Cook of the Ashoka Hotel, New Delhi (Government owned) is paid a salary of 20,000 Swiss Francs a year, which works out to about Rs. 1,845 a month. He and his family are also given free board and lodging.

Foreign Companies

The number of Indians drawing a monthly salary of Rs. 1,000 and more in foreign owned/controlled companies in India has been steadily increasing. Whereas in 1947 there were 504 Indians to 5,844 foreigners, in 1956 there were 5,614 Indians against 6,025. As is seen from the figures the number of foreigners instead of decreasing with the increase in the number of Indians has actually increased. It must be remembered that most commercial establishments have expanded their activities which has necessitated the employment of more personnel.

The break up of the salary groups of Rs. 1,000 and above shows that in the salary group of Rs. 1000-1500 Indians occupy 80% posts now as against 61.5 per cent in 1955. In the next salary group, of Rs. 1501-3000, 40.9 per cent of the posts are manned by Indians as against 27.4 per cent in 1955. In the highest salary group of above Rs. 3000, 11.4 per cent of the posts are filled by Indians as compared to 7.9 per cent in 1955.

Of the total of 6,025 foreigners employed in foreign companies on salaries of Rs. 1000 or above, 88.0 per cent are British; 3.6 per cent are American. The rest is made up of Swiss, Italians, Austrians, Greeks, Hungarians, Irish, Australians, Japanese, Czechs and others.

There is a move among foreigners to appoint more and more Indians to key positions which were hitherto the well-guarded preserves of the owners.

Steel Plants

The cost of the three steel plants in the public sector — Rourkela, Bhilai and Durgapur — has gone up by Rs. 86 crores over the original estimates. Purchases from abroad on concluded contracts account for a rise of Rs. 65 crores.

The increases in the cost now estimated over those in the original project report are as follows: Rourkela — from Rs. 128 crores to Rs. 170 crores; Bhilai — from Rs 110 crores to Rs. 131 crores; and Durgapur — from Rs. 115 crores to Rs. 138 crores. These do not include the cost of subsidiary works such as townships, mines, railways, water and power supply, etc. Since the cost of materials has gone up considerably all these also will cost considerably more than the original estimates.

Foreign Aid

The only foreign aid which has come to India after the tour of the Finance Minister is a loan granted by Russia amounting roughly Rs. 600 million. The loan bears an interest of $2\frac{1}{2}\%$ and is payable in twelve equal annual instalments beginning one year after the delivery of the machinery and equipment in respect of each of the five projects covered by this loan. Under the agreement the Russians will set up a heavy machinery plant, a coal-mining machinery plant and an optical glass factory. In addition the Russians will set up a thermal power station at Neivelli and provide equipment for the Korba coal mines.

With the present loan the aid given by Russia to India amounts to a little over Rs. 1,325 million. India has also obtained from Western sources, mainly the United States (Rs. 5,000 million), aid totalling about Rs. 7,950 million. Out of the aid received from the United States nearly Rs. 2,000 million has been in the form of gifts or grants.

From the way the Comrades spoke in Parliament one would have been led to believe that compared with Russian aid help received from Western sources was a mere drop in the wide ocean. After their latest discomfiture in Parliament one may hope that they will be a little more prudent in their wild attacks. Will they?

Convicts

Conferences and congresses are the fashion of the day. Recently the U. P. Government convened a conference, first of its kind in the world, of convicts and ex-convicts. Delegates from certain social organisations also took part. Convict delegates were given five days parole to attend the conference and one day was added later for sightseeing. The female convicts were not permitted, at first, to go on sightseeing but when they complained that they were discriminated against only on account of their sex they too were given a day off for sightseeing. At the end of the conference, it is reported, all the prisoners returned to their respective jails. They were unescorted throughout. To mark the occasion the U. P. Government granted one month's remission in the term of imprisonment of all prisoners in the State.

The convicts at the Conference presented a hundred-point "Charter of demands" which if granted would solve the acute unemployment problem to an appreciable degree. Some of the

demands are: the responsibility for jail administration to be entrusted to a panchayat elected by the prisoners; the abolition of forced labour; training of prisoners in various trades and crafts according to the "natural aptitude of each"; arrangement for marriage of women convicts who express a desire for matrimony. The Conference wants the Government to levy a special tax from the public to help the families of prisoners. They want the prisons to be called "Sudhar Grah" (Reformatory) and punishment "Sudhar" (reform).

Students

The Governor of Bihar addressing a group of college students told them bluntly to cultivate good manners and behave like civilized persons. He told them that stealing of railway property, travelling without tickets and engaging in such other antisocial behaviour was not being smart but behaving in a manner unworthy of a student.

Recently there was a lot of rioting in Allahabad in which the university students were one of the principals. It all started with the buying of an electric table lamp. On finding the lamp defective the student returned with the article to the shop-keeper who, it is alleged refused to take it back. Argument followed and then riots in which heads were freely broken, shops looted and buildings burnt down.

In Patna, because the Government appointed two senior housemen belonging to another medical college, all the housemen and medical students went on strike causing untold misery to the unfortunate patients in the hospital. It is becoming quite a fashion to go on strike, hold demonstrations and take the law into one's own hand on the slightest provocation, real or imaginary.

Children

Not long ago the country celebrated the Children's Week. Special stamps were issued, meetings held, speeches made and children feted and feasted.

By a strong coincidence, however, the very same week was observed as Family Planning Week whose sole purpose was to see that children did not come into this world. "Prevent children from being born" was the war cry, of course, not in so many words. Birth-control clinics were opened in many places, contra-

ceptives were freely, or for a mere nominal pittance, distributed, information thrust down the throats of even the unwilling, orders were passed that nurses should be given instruction in birth-control methods and money is to be spent lavishly for making birthcontrol in all its forms popular. "Population is increasing and we must put a stop," that is the slogan. Means adopted are justified because the end is good. And after that we preach morality to the world.

In Japan, which had a very acute surplus population problem, it is reported that they have succeeded in halting the increase, thanks to birth-control and legalised abortions. One economist had said that within another half a century Japan will be faced with an acute problem of shortage of man power — there will be too many old people and too few young ones to man her industries.

America needs more men and the need will increase as the birth-rate steadily falls. England and France are in a deplorable state thanks to birth-control. And we, not seeing beyond our noses, are spending Rs. 50,000,000, to pursue the same madness. Really "wisdom has fled to brutish beasts".

Industrial Disputes

Time-loss due to industrial disputes during August 1957, decreased by 167, 155 man-days as compared with the previous month. There were 109 fresh disputes in August bringing the total number of disputes current at any time during the month to 145. 113 disputes were settled during the month.

West-Bengal recorded the highest time-loss, 194,122 man-days, followed by Bihar, 104,798 man-days.

Urbanisation in India

India's 1951 Census observed that among the 35.7 crores inhabitants, the percentage of the urban population was 17.3 whilst 82.7 per cent lived in villages. Some people readily fancy that the urban population is settled in one or other of our cities (agglomerations of 100,000 and more). But reference to the Census Report itself⁽¹⁾ tells us that "a town is normally inhabited with a total population of not less than 5,000 persons. But places with a somewhat larger population which do not possess *definite* urban character may not be treated as towns. At the same time, places with a smaller population with *definite* urban character (including generally all municipalities and cantonments and other places having a local administration of their own) may be treated as towns. The decision, in marginal cases, rests with State Governments in some States and State Census Superintendents in others. At this census there were 2,136 villages with a population exceeding 5,000 and 611 towns with population less than 5,000".

In fact the Demographic Tables enumerate some 62 million people in our 3,018 towns (2,951 towns plus town-groups) whilst they record only some 26 million persons in our 138 towns of one lakh (71 towns plus town groups). What makes matters more ambiguous is that at the XIth session of the UNESCO, it was agreed that, for international comparisons, only the population of towns with a population of 20,000 and over would be considered as urban. In international parlance therefore, India would have an urban population of some 42 millions. An increase in urban population is a world phenomenon which marked demographic development since the early XIXth century and it is likely

(1) Cf. Census of India 1951. Part II—A Demographic Tables p. 2
A similar remark is found in the Census of 1931. Nowhere do we discover a description of what constitutes the *definite* urban character of a town-group.

to continue. Some industrialised and well-urbanised countries like the U.S.A. and France, however, register a fall in the percentage of urbanisation whilst Russia is registering a rise. India is still in the first phase of accelerated urbanisation.

The Process

The increase in the proportion of urban sector might be due to a natural growth of the population, but it generally denotes a migratory movement from the countryside towards the towns. The social problems of urbanisation arise out of the shunting from rural life into urban life. The sources and causes of these problems are complex and hard to analyse. They may be of a go with progressive industrialisation, they may be due to public misfortune, famine, flood, etc. ; they occasionally arise from the glamour of city life which appears to obsess certain temperaments. On the other hand urbanisation is neither a happy nor an unhappy development in itself ; its character can only be determined from its conditions as obtain in a particular country. Those conditions themselves are analysed from various aspects in the Unesco Report⁽²⁾.

Urbanisation and Economic Development

In general, industrialised countries show a higher percentage of urban population than under-developed nations, whilst the rural percentage is lower. Urban expansion, however, is not by itself a sufficient index of economic development. Even in developed countries industrial employment is not necessarily proportional to the degree of urbanisation, and it would be rash to prophesy that, in all developing countries, urbanisation and industrial prosperity would run on the same lines as followed in XIXth century Europe. Economic, cultural and political factors vary with places and epochs. The national economy must be analysed

(2) Cf. Service Social dans le Monde. July 1957. Pp. 97 sqq.

realistically and fully. It is only through a balance, an economic and cultural integration, of the urban and rural sectors that the social problems born of urbanisation can be solved in a satisfactory degree.

Employment

The present trend in India from the countryside to the towns implies the displacement of the rural unemployed or under-employed towards the towns which, however, have but limited supplies of opportunities for unskilled labour. Hence the instability of unskilled labour. Some twenty years ago, many factories saw their labour force being changed at the rate of 50 per cent per year; at present the rate may be estimated at above 33 per cent. A stable settlement of the labour force within the proximity of their place of work would save a good deal of waste and make for higher productivity; for the present our industrial working-class is still in the process of formation, and is largely liable to the insecurity which characterises migrant labour. Not only a long-term policy that would multiply houses for workers is necessary, but it also would be desirable to prepare rural youth for town-life and give them suitable orientation before and after their exodus to industrial areas.

Urban Housing, Health and Hygiene

The housing problem is a serious problem all over the world, but it is reported to be most acute in under-developed countries, particularly in Asia. Demographic trend, migration, delay in building, insistent claim from middle class employees and better-paid labourers, all such factors make the problem more urgent than ever. Coolie lines and tenements will not solve it. Thorough planning is called for: study of the migratory trends and currents, policy of industrial de-centralisation, planning of garden-cities, rise in production and consequently of the standard and level of living, education of the humblest classes to urban living,

planning of residential areas away from factories, administrative reforms to deal with town-extensions, etc. Such is the work needed if we do not want to repeat all the mistakes and misdeeds which attended industrial development up to the present day. It is a task of such dimensions as should tempt the genius of our best planning experts.

As to public health and hygiene, conditions have generally improved in urban areas from the beginning of this century, at any rate in many urban areas so that the standards of health has risen above the general level of the country. Yet as long as urbanisation is in its first phase, diseases and epidemics bring in untold misery and lower production and tell heavily on the morals of the immigrant population. Overpopulated quarters, unsatisfactory sanitation, paucity of resources keep the humbler classes at death's door. Tuberculosis, pneumonia, and other respiratory ills venereal diseases are generally more widespread in towns than in villages, and are more disastrous owing to malnutrition.

Water supply, hygienic conditions in factories and offices, conservancy facilities, maternity and child welfare centres, etc., could do much to improve the health of the general population. About nutritional changes few statistics indicating changes are available, and few surveys attempted. The incidence of urbanisation on the diet of migrants from the rural areas varies considerably with the individual conditions of the migrant; improvement runs parallel to the increase of income, though other factors come in (family conditions, initiative of employer or administration to assist food-supply, etc). The most typical case is Japan, a very industrialised and urbanised country, where between 1930 and 1938 the per head consumption of milk, meat, sugar, fats and tea increased from 14 to 40 per cent.⁽³⁾

⁽³⁾ Cf. *Service Social dans le Monde*, July 57, p. 101.

Family Life

The impact of urbanisation on family life can be as decisive as it is delicate to survey. The first point to observe is the sex composition of our urban population, which composition at once strikes the social worker. An analysis of the last Census Reports is instructive in that regard. In 1951, among the general population there were 105.6 men to every hundred women ; whilst among the 6.2 crores inhabiting all towns and town-groups, the ratio was 116.3, and among the 2.6 crores living in cities the ratio rose to 128. This last ratio, however, shows a betterment on the 1941 ratio which was 138, and the 1931 ratio which stood at 136.7. The three largest cities, Madras, Bombay, and Calcutta, bear distinctive features. The successive Census Reports in 1931, 1941 and 1951 give us the following respective sex-ratios (number of men to every hundred women) : 111, 110 and 108.5 for Madras ; 172.8, 167 and 168 for Greater Bombay ; 215, 221 and 175 for Calcutta City (with Greater Calcutta registering 198, 203 and 166).⁽⁴⁾

With a view to study the problem closer, one might desire details on the sex-composition according to religion, but the 1951 Census omitted returns according to religion ; it will be enough to mention an instance taken from the 1921 and 1931 when the Hindu population of Calcutta City had a sex-ratio (M. to F.) of some 200 whilst the Muslim sex-ratio was as high as 280 and 279.

The abnormal sex-composition of our urban population implies that the rural unemployed and under-employed flock to the towns and cities in conditions which do not allow them to bring their families along or that they enter factories for some months only in the hope of saving enough to pay debts, often unproductive debts. In any case the abnormal sex-ratio, which tends to improve with increased national production, tells on family life, delinquency and moral instability.

⁽⁴⁾ Cf. Census Reports — See also "Poona: a Re-Survey" by N. V. Souani, D. P. Apte, R. G. Pendse. 1957.

On the other hand, once the urbanisation process has quieted down, it would be wrong to suppose that family life is less stable or less close than in the countryside; urban conditions often lead to some sort of seclusion and exclusiveness which favour intimacy, even when the family as a group shares the crowd-feeling which is endemic in cities. What calls for special attention is the parent-child relation in recently urbanised families. The child is ill-prepared for a change from rural to urban conditions, but at the same time adapts itself more easily than its parents: hence tensions, possibly also a fall in parental authority. On the other hand the womenfolk find opportunities for jobs and develop a feeling of economic independence, which is not without drawbacks. The crucial problem in family urbanisation relates to orphaned or abandoned children; in the countryside they usually find a shelter and a home among relatives in cities they turn into street-urchins and worse.

It should be added that in underdeveloped countries, the new migrants to urban areas group themselves according to their native region, and ethnical, religious, linguistic or tribal origins; planners favour of such groupings but further surveys would be needed to assess the advantages and disadvantages of like groupings, and determine their suitable organisation.

Urban Delinquency

Does urban life more than rural life foster delinquency? From the Unesco Report, the conclusion is doubtful. What is considered certain is that the quick transition from one type of society to another is often marked with an increase of delinquency; social changes are usually associated with mental and moral instability, failure in adaptation and default. The phenomenon is especially noticed in the juvenile population in cities of countries going through a rapid

economic and social evolution. Prostitution especially is not unusual among migrants, though it must be noted that the clientele of houses of ill-fame is recruited not so much from unmarried youths as from the crowd of unsatisfied husbands. Gambling, drink and other undesirable failings are noted among adult workers, particularly among migrants who find no relatives or clansmen in their place of work.

Conclusion

The above sketchy notes suggest that many problems attending the process of urbanisation. They relate to conditions the world over, but indicate present-day questions for social workers who try their best to follow the modernisation crisis through which India is passing.

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